1		FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
2		999 E Street, N.W.
3		Washington, D.C. 20463
4		
5		FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT
6		
7		MUR: 6888
8		DATE COMPLAINT FILED: 10/23/14
9		11/3/14
10		8/28/15
11		DATE OF NOTIFICATION: 10/28/14
12		11/7/14
13	•	9/9/15
14		9/25/15
15		DATE OF LAST RESPONSE: 12/14/15
16		DATE ACTIVATED: 3/23/15
17		
18		ELECTION CYCLE: 2012, 2014
19	•	EARLIEST SOL: 8/1/2016
20		LATEST SOL: 10/9/2019
21	COMPLATIVATION	
22	COMPLAINANTS:	American Democracy Legal Fund
23		D 1 W 11
24		Brad Woodhouse
25	DECDONDENTS.	Danuklian National Committee and Authors
26	RESPONDENTS:	Republican National Committee and Anthony
27		Parker in his official capacity as treasurer
28 29		American Creased and Calab Creaky in his
30		American Crossroads and Caleb Crosby in his
31	·	official capacity as treasurer
32		Crossroads GPS
33		Clussidads OF S
34		Americans for Prosperity
35		Americans for Prosperity
36		GOP Data Trust LLC ¹
37		GOI Data Hust LbC
38		i360, LLC
39		1500, LEC
40		National Republican Senatorial Committee and
41		Keith A. Davis in his official capacity as treasurer
42		result in Davis in the official capacity as deasoned
43		Freedom Partners Action Fund, Inc., and Thomas F
44		Maxwell III in his official capacity as treasurer
• •		inaminali ini mia ottiviai vapavity as ti odstrot

Since the filing of its first response, this entity has changed its name to DT Client Services LLC. See Resp. of DT Client Services LLC at 1 (Oct. 2, 2015).

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 2 of 24

State Party Committee Respondents:	Arizona Republican Party and Timothy Lee in his official capacity as treasurer
	Montana Republican State Central Committee and Deborah Brown in her official capacity as treasurer
	West Virginia Republican Party, Inc. and Michelle Wilshere in her official capacity as treasurer
	Massachusetts Republican Party and Brent T. Andersen in his official capacity as treasurer
Character and Analysis d	
Candidate and Authorized Committee Respondents:	Andrew Walter
	Andrew Walter for Congress and Chris Marston in his official capacity as treasurer
	Benjamin Sasse
	Ben Sasse for US Senate Inc. and Mark Fahleson in his official capacity as treasurer
	Carl DeMaio
	Carl DeMaio for Congress and Paul Kilgore in his official capacity as treasurer
	Robert Goodlatte
	Bob Goodlatte for Congress Committee and Kenneth Lorenz Prickitt in his official capacity as treasurer
	Robert T. Schilling
•	
	Bobby Schilling for Congress and Mitch Heckenkam in his official capacity as treasurer
•	Elizabeth Cheney
	Enzageth Chency
	Cheney for Wyoming and Mark Vincent in his
	official capacity as treasurer

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 3 of 24

1	Thomas Cotton
2 3	Cotton for Senate and Crate Bradley in his official
	capacity as treasurer
4 5	oupuoity as trousure.
6-	Doug Ose
7	•
8	Doug Ose for Congress and Vona Copp in her
9	official capacity as treasurer
10	TIL 0. 6' 11
11 12	Elise Stefanik
13	Elise for Congress and James Morris in his official
14	capacity as treasurer
15	oupubity an inomparon
16	Paul Dietzell
17	
18	Friends of Dietzell and Brandon Lagarde in his
19	official capacity as treasurer
20	77 77 11
21	Karen Handel
22 23	Handel for Senate Inc. and Roger Santi in his
24	official capacity as treasurer
25	ornolar capacity as treasurer
26	William Hurd
27	
28	Hurd for Congress and Bradley Crate in his official
29	capacity as treasurer
30	Starra I arrange
31 32	Steve Lonegan
33	Lonegan for Senate Inc. and Scott B. Mackenzie in
34	his official capacity as treasurer
35.	
36	Matt Rosendale
37	; ·
38	Matt Rosendale for Montana and Bill Vancanagan
39	in his official capacity as treasurer
40	Michael McFadden
41 42	Michael Michadden
42	McFadden for Senate and Paul Kilgore in his
44	official capacity as treasurer
45	
•	

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 4 of 24

1 2	Martha McSally
3 4 5	McSally for Congress and James Thomas III in his official capacity as treasurer
6	Michael Turner
7 8 9	Mike Turner for Congress and Kyle Walton Denham in his official capacity as treasurer
10 11 12	Robert J. Wittman
13 14 15	Rob Wittman for Congress and Steve Ralls in his official capacity as treasurer
16	Matthew D. Schultz
17 18 19	Schultz for Iowa and David Overholtzer in his official capacity as treasurer
20 21	Edward Scott Rigell
22 23 24	Scott Rigell for Congress and Joseph B. Wood in his official capacity as treasurer
25 26	Steven Daines
27 28 29 30	Steve Daines for Montana and Lorna Kuney in her official capacity as treasurer
31	Dan Sullivan
32 33 34	Sullivan for US Senate and Eric Campbell in his official capacity as treasurer
35 36	Thomas W. Reed II
37 38 39	Tom Reed for Congress and Marc Valerio in his official capacity as treasurer
40 41	Lynn Jenkins
42 43 44 45	Lynn Jenkins for Congress and Heather Grote in her official capacity as treasurer

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 5 of 24

1	Jeb Bush
2 3 4 5 6	Jeb 2016, Inc., and William Simon in his official capacity as treasurer
	Scott Walker
7 8 9	Scott Walker, Inc., and Kate Lind in her official capacity as treasurer
10 11 12	Ted Cruz
13 14	Cruz for President and Bradley S. Knippa in his official capacity as treasurer
15 16	Marco Rubio
17 18 19	Marco Rubio for President and Lisa Lisker in her official capacity as treasurer
20 21	Chris Christie
22 23 24	Chris Christie for President, Inc., and Ronald Gravino in his official capacity as treasurer
25 26	Bobby Jindal
27 28 29	Jindal for President and Rolfe McCollister, Jr., in his official capacity as treasurer
30 31	Rick Perry
32 33 34	Perry for President, Inc., and Dr. Richard Box in his official capacity as treasurer
35 36	Rick Santorum
37 38 39	Santorum for President 2016 and Greg Rothman in his official capacity as treasurer
40 41	Mike Huckabee
42 43 44 45	Huckabee for President, Inc., and Cale Turner in his official capacity as treasurer

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 6 of 24

1	Ben Carson
2 3 4 5	Carson America and Logan D. Delany, Jr., in his official capacity as treasurer
6 7	Carly Fiorina
8 9	Carly for President and Joseph R. Schmuckler in his official capacity as treasurer
10	Pat Roberts
12 13 14	Pat Roberts for U.S. Senate and Richard A. Ball in his official capacity as treasurer
15 16	Lisa Murkowski
17 18 19	Lisa Murkowski for U.S. Senate and Catherin Straub in her official capacity as treasurer
20 21	John Isakson
22 23 24	Georgians for Isakson and Jon Anderson in his official capacity as treasurer
25 26	Dr. Charles Boustany Jr.
27 28 29	Charles Boustany Jr. MD for Congress, Inc., and Alan D. Hebert in his official capacity as treasurer
30 31	Rob Portman
32 33 34	Portman for Senate Committee and Natalie K. Baur in her official capacity as treasurer
35 36	Patrick Toomey
37 38 39	Friends of Pat Toomey and Lisa Lisker in her official capacity as treasurer
40 41	Kelly Ayotte
42 43 44 45	Friends of Kelly Ayotte, Inc., and Theodore V. Koch in his official capacity as treasurer
TJ	

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 7 of 24

1		Renee Ellmers
2 3 4	•	Renee Ellmers for Congress Committee and Al
5		Lytton in his official capacity as treasurer
6 7		Kevin Yoder
8		Yoder for Congress, Inc., and Donald Kaiser in his
9 10	·	official capacity as treasurer
11		Kristi Noem
12		Alsti Hoeni
13 14		Kristi for Congress and Ted Hustead in his official capacity as treasurer
15		N 0 '6"4
16. 17		Morgan Griffith
18		Morgan Griffith for Congress and John Selph in his
19		official capacity as treasurer
20		
21		Alan Sanborn
22 23		Southern for Congress and Balah Massarone in his
24		Sanborn for Congress and Ralph Maccarone in his official capacity as treasurer
25		official supusity as trousard.
26	RELEVANT STATUTES	
27	AND REGULATIONS:	52 U.S.C. § 30116
28 .		52 U.S.C. § 30118
29		52 U.S.C. § 30125
30 31	INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED:	Disclosure Reports
32	INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED:	Disclosure Reports
33	FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED:	None
34	•	
35		
36	I. INTRODUCTION	
37		
38	This matter involves allegations the	at the Republican National Committee and Anthony
39	Parker in his official capacity as treasurer	("RNC"), American Crossroads and Caleb Crosby in
40	his official capacity as treasurer ("America	an Crossroads"), Crossroads GPS, Americans for
41	Prosperity ("AFP"), GOP Data Trust LLC	("Data Trust"), i360, LLC ("i360"), the National

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 8 of 24

- Republican Senatorial Committee and Keith A. Davis in his official capacity as treasurer
- 2 ("NRSC"), Freedom Partners Action Fund, Inc., and Thomas F Maxwell III in his official
- 3 capacity as treasurer ("Freedom Partners"), the State Party Committee Respondents, and the
- 4 Candidate and Authorized Committee Respondents violated the Federal Election Campaign Act,
- 5 as amended (the "Act"). Specifically, the Complaint alleges that: (1) AFP, American
- 6 Crossroads, Freedom Partners, and Crossroads GPS made excessive in-kind contributions to the
- 7 RNC, the State Party Committee Respondents, the NRSC, and the Candidate and Authorized
- 8 Committee Respondents in the form of coordinated communications; (2) Data Trust made
- 9 prohibited in-kind contributions to the RNC, and (3) the RNC "illegally established, financed,
- 10 maintained, and/or controlled" Data Trust.²
- As discussed below, none of the respondents appears to have violated the Act.
- 12 Accordingly, we recommend that the Commission find: (1) no reason to believe AFP, American
- 13 Crossroads, Crossroads GPS, Freedom Partners, the NRSC, the RNC, the State Party Committee
- 14 Respondents, and the Candidate and Authorized Committee Respondents violated 52 U.S.C.
- 15 §§ 30116 or 30118 by making or receiving prohibited or excessive in-kind contributions in the
- 16 form of coordinated communications; (2) no reason to believe Data Trust or the RNC violated
- 17 52 U.S.C. § 30118 by making or receiving prohibited in-kind contributions in the form of data
- management services; and (3) no reason to believe the RNC or Data Trust violated 52 U.S.C.
- 19 § 30125 by soliciting, receiving, or directing funds that were not subject to the prohibitions,
- 20 limitations, and reporting requirements of the Act.

² Compl. at 11-19; Second Supp. Compl. at 9-15.

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 9 of 24

II. FACTS

1

2 A. Respondents

3 The RNC is the national party committee of the Republican Party. Data Trust is a for-4 profit "vendor to conservative and Republican organizations that participate in the political 5 process and undertake issue advocacy campaigns." Respondent i360 is a "for-profit company 6 that serves as a data warehouse and data resource vendor to its customers, which include 7 businesses, not-for-profit entities, political committees, candidates, and political party 8 committees." American Crossroads is registered with the Commission as an independent 9 expenditure-only committee. Crossroads GPS and Americans for Prosperity are non-profit 10. corporations that are not registered with the Commission as political committees. Freedom 11 Partners is registered with the Commission as an independent expenditure-only committee. The 12 NRSC is a Republican Party committee. 13 The Arizona Republican Party, West Virginia Republican Party, Massachusetts 14 Republican Party, and Montana Republican State Central Committee (the "State Party Committee Respondents") are state committees of the Republican Party. The 47 candidates 15 16 identified as respondents (together with their authorized committees and treasurers, the

Data Trust Resp. at 1. Data Trust is actually two cntities. The Data Trust is a Virginia business trust which holds title to intellectual property, including (1) the data generated by its wholly-owned operating company, GOP Data Trust LLC (the "LLC"), and (2) data gained through the Data Exchange Agreement with the RNC. The Virginia business trust issues stock to private investors. The LLC has an agreement with the Virginia business trust whereby it leases the data obtained through the Data Exchange Agreement with the RNC and then exchanges, leases, and sells data to clients. Data Trust Resp. at 3; RNC Resp. at 4, n. 4.

See i360 Resp. at 2.

Neither the Montana Republican State Central Committee nor the Massachusetts Republican Party filed a response in this matter. Given the available information, we are comfortable making collective recommendations for the State Party Committee Respondents.

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 10 of 24

- 1 "Candidate and Authorized Committee Respondents") were candidates for Congress, Senate, or
- 2 President in 2014 or 2016.6

3

4

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

B. Background

1. Formation of Data Trust

The Complaint alleges that the RNC established and continues to control Data Trust. As support, the Complaint notes that Data Trust's chairman and executive director each "have ties to the Republican Party apparatus" and cites several newspaper articles discussing the RNC's role in Data Trust's formation.

Data Trust and the RNC state that Data Trust was formed in 2011 by "a group of Republican leaders," including former RNC Chairman Robert M. "Mike" Duncan, who "recognized a need in the commercial marketplace for sophisticated data products aimed at conservative and Republican organizations and "became a for-profit commercial vendor targeting this client base." According to Data Trust, Duncan knew from his tenure with the RNC that the RNC had large voter profiles, but that the profiles had not been adequately updated with sophisticated consumer data that can be used to predict voter behavior. Data Trust and the

The following respondent candidates (and their authorized committees and treasurers) did not file a response in this matter: Paul Dietzell, Robert Schilling, Steve Lonegan, Martha McSally, Michael Turner, Chris Christie, Rick Perry, Ben Carson, Charles Boustany, Renee Ellmers, Kevin Yoder, and Morgan Griffith. Given the available information, we are comfortable making collective recommendations for the Candidate and Authorized Committee Respondents.

Compl. at 18,

⁸ *Id*. at 17-18.

⁹ RNC Resp. at 4.

Data Trust Resp. at 2.

¹¹ *Id*.

¹² *Id*.

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

- 1 RNC entered into the August 2011 Data Exchange and Enhancement Agreement (the "Data
- 2 Exchange Agreement"), under which the RNC would "license portions of its voter list and data
- 3 to the Trust in exchange for the Trust's enhancing the files with its data valued at the same fair
- 4 market value as the license for the RNC list." Pursuant to the Data Exchange Agreement, each
- 5 party would continue to grow and enhance its own data and then exchange those enhancements
- 6 with each other on a wholesale basis. 14 Data Trust states that the Data Exchange Agreement, at
- 7 its expiration, requires the value of the exchanged data to be equal. 15

According to Data Trust, the base information in its file is obtained from two sources – the Data Exchange Agreement with the RNC and its own data collection efforts. ¹⁶ The latter includes obtaining addresses, phone numbers, email addresses, and consumer information on individuals' interests, past purchases, and "thousands of other data points" from commercially available databases. ¹⁷ Data Trust states that its clients then select the data that will be useful to them and pay fair market rates to Data Trust for access to that data. ¹⁸ As part of Data Trust's standard agreement, clients are required to report back to Data Trust any "data modifications" – new or corrected data gained by contacting individuals based on the data provided to them by Data Trust – so that Data Trust can update its file and keep its data current. ¹⁹ Data Trust states that the modifications are incorporated into Data Trust's file, but Data Trust's other clients are

¹³ Id. The Data Exchange Agreement was renewed in 2014. RNC Resp. at 5.

Data Trust Resp. at 2.

¹⁵ *ld*.

¹⁶ Id. at 6.

¹⁷ Id.; see Crossroads.Resp. at 3 (citing Data Trust's website, http://www.gopdatatrust.com/).

Data Trust Resp. at 6.

¹⁹ Id. at 7.

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 12 of 24

- 1 not informed that new data has arrived, which other client provided the modification, when it
- 2 was collected, or who else has accessed the data.²⁰ According to Data Trust, it does not make
- 3 suggestions about which data fields might be useful to clients, nor does it sell political strategy or
- 4 "engage in, consult on, or produce any public communications."²¹

2. <u>Data Trust and the Crossroads Groups</u>

Crossroads GPS and American Crossroads (together, the "Crossroads Groups") are two of Data Trust's clients. The Complaint alleges that Data Trust is passing "non-public strategic campaign and party data" between the RNC and the Crossroads Groups, among others. The Crossroads Groups state that their agreements with Data Trust provided them with access to raw data about voters – not strategy. The Crossroads Groups describe the data enhancement arrangement with Data Trust as part of the consideration of the contract (along with the licensing fees) and stated that they returned the enhancements to Data Trust on a quarterly basis. Regarding their use of the data, the Crossroads Groups describe paying Data Trust for access to a voter file (such as a file containing information about all North Carolina voters), which Data Trust would then deliver to a consultant hired by the Crossroads Groups for "microtargeting" analysis. The consultant would then deliver to the Crossroads Groups lists representing various categories of voters (e.g., "male independent voters between 45-60 years old") that the

ld.; DeStefano Aff. ¶ 10-11.

Data Trust Resp. at 7-8.

Compl. at 2.

Crossroads Resp. at 3; Data Trust Resp. at 7.

Crossroads Resp. at 5.

²⁵ Id.

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 13 of 24

- 1 Crossroads Groups could then use in targeting their communications.²⁶ According to the
- 2 Crossroads Groups, the internally strategic reasons for selecting a particular group of voters and
- 3 the substance of the communications were developed entirely independently of Data Trust or any
- 4 candidate or committee.²⁷ Furthermore, the Crossroads Groups state that Data Trust's data was
- 5 only used to create targeted phone and mailing lists, and their television and radio advertisements
- 6 were developed entirely without data from Data Trust.²⁸

3. Data Trust and the RNC

The Complaint alleges that Data Trust maintains the RNC's database and provides "extensive data services" to the RNC.²⁹ The Complaint further alleges that the RNC has made only a single payment of \$25,000 to Data Trust despite receiving services of far greater fair market value.³⁰

According to Data Trust, it has never performed list management services for the RNC.³¹ Similarly, the RNC states that it "maintains, operates, and administers its own voter file."³² Data Trust states that it began offering data services, such as building applications to view and interact with the Data Trust's data, following the 2012 elections.³³ Data Trust apparently has received either \$45,000 or \$60,000 from the RNC for use of this application programming interface since

²⁶ *Id*.

²⁷ *ld*. at 4-5.

²⁸ *Id*. at 7-9.

²⁹ Compl. at 2-3.

³⁰ Id. at 16.

Data Trust Resp. at 2-3.

RNC Resp. at 3.

Data Trust Resp. at 4.

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 14 of 24

- August 2014.³⁴ The RNC states that it also paid \$5,000 per month to Data Trust during 2013-
- 2 2014 to lease the beta version of Data Beacon, a voter relationship management program Data
- 3 Trust was developing.³⁵ According to the RNC, after Data Trust lost interest in developing Data
- 4 Beacon, the RNC bought the unfinished product for \$150,000 and paid \$87,800 for engineering
- 5 and consulting services to facilitate the transition.³⁶

4. <u>Data Trust and i360</u>

Respondent i360 describes its business as acquiring data and building predictive models which anticipate (based on thousands of data points) the behaviors and preferences of an individual (or group of individuals).³⁷ It sells access to its data library, data management tools, and modeling and analytical tools; clients then use those tools to locate particular individuals to target with their communications.³⁸ According to i360, "the database and its products are not determinants of communications strategy or usage; they are tools for use once a communications strategy is already determined."³⁹ Like Data Trust, i360 maintains that "in no case can a

¹d. at 9 (\$45,000); RNC Resp. at 5-6 (\$60,000).

RNC Resp. at 5.

³⁶ *Id*.

i360 Resp. at 2-7.

Id. at 6-8. Other respondents provide examples of i360's products and services in their responses. See, e.g., Supp. Resp. of William Hurd and Hurd for Congress at 2-3, Ex. 1 (Oct. 7, 2015) (delineating services provided by i360 and attaching services agreement); Resp. of Arizona Republican Party at 1 (describing how it provided data to i360, which "simply allowed Party users to access this data using their applications," and stating that "i360 informed us that we would not have access to any unique data" generated by i360's other clients); Resp. of West Virginia Republican Party at 2 (stating that it "passively received data and never sent any information back to i360 that could conceivably be used by a common vendor in a coordinated communication"); Resp. of Mike McFadden and McFadden for Senate at 2-3 ("In no way did i360, LLC perform provide [sic] any substantive or strategic guidance, beyond administrative guidance, regarding the records that MFS pulled from [i360's] data warehouse"); Resp. of NRSC at 1 ("i360 does not facilitate or otherwise enable any strategic communication whatsoever between NRSC and other i360 clients, nor does i360 provide NRSC with the ability to share or receive any non-public strategy or plans with or from outside groups").

i360 Resp. at 7.

- 1 customer select data that that customer knows has been generated by a particular customer."40
- 2 Customers may upload their own data and use i360's data management tools to manage the data;
- 3 in that event, the data is "siloed" in its own database and is not shared with other customers. 41 It
- 4 is, however, used by i360 to refine and enhance its own data and predictive models.⁴²
- In addition to its data services, i360 provides media placement services to certain clients.
- 6 For example, Freedom Partners and AFP appear to be media placement services clients of i360.⁴³
- 7 Freedom Partners states that it used i360 as a vendor to provide media buying and related
- 8 services, but that it is not a subscriber to i360's data services. 44 According to i360, there is a
- 9 "firewall" separating its media placement division from its data operations to ensure compliance,
- and i360 "does not have any candidate and/or campaign media buying customers." ⁴⁵
- In August 2014, Data Trust entered into a data exchange agreement with i360, which
- 12 expanded the amount of data available to each vendor's clients and obligated each party to
- provide periodic updates from their databases.⁴⁶ The Complaint alleges that in the wake of this
- 14 agreement, the RNC and Data Trust "started passing party and campaign data to . . . AFP and all
- partners of the Data Trust's new partner i360" in a "real time exchange of non-public,

⁰ *Id.* at 8.

⁴¹ *Id.* at 9.

⁴² Id.

See Second Supp. Compl. at Exs. I, II.

⁴⁴ Resp. of Freedom Partners at 1-2.

i360 Supp. Resp. at 3 (Oct. 29, 2015). Although i360 stated in its initial response that it did not provide media buying services "to any of the respondents in this matter," i360 Resp. at 2, n. 1 (Jan. 6, 2015), that statement appears to be inaccurate as to AFP (but accurate as to Freedom Partners, which was not yet a respondent at the time of i360's initial response). Exhibit 1 of the Second Supplemental Complaint suggests that AFP was a media buying services client as of October 16, 2014.

Data Trust Resp. at 8; i360 Resp. at 10.

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 16 of 24

- 2 contain information about which group collected the data, when they were collected, or who else
- 3 has accessed the data.⁴⁸
- 4 According to the complainant, i360 contracted with AFP, Freedom Partners, the NRSC,
- 5 and each of the State Party Committee Respondents and the Candidate and Authorized
- 6 Committee Respondents, and thus those parties became part of the data exchange underlying the
- 7 coordinated communications allegations. 49 Each of the respondents who filed a response with
- 8 the Commission denies that a violation has occurred. 50

9 III. LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. The Respondents Did Not Make Coordinated Communications

- 11 According to the Complaint, the independent expenditures made by AFP, Freedom
- 12 Partners, and the Crossroads Groups are coordinated communications because those groups,
- through their agreements with Data Trust (the Crossroads Groups) and i360 (AFP, Freedom
- Partners), are receiving strategic data about the plans, projects, activities, and needs of the RNC,
- 15 the NRSC, State Party Committee Respondents, and Candidate and Authorized Committee
- 16 Respondents.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Compl. at 2.

Data Trust Resp. at 8; i360 Resp. at 10, 23 ("[B]ecause any data points gleaned from the i360 data library or modeling scores have been scrubbed of source, circumstance, or any other identifying information, one customer cannot 'reverse engineer' the data in the library in an attempt to gain information about another customer's activities").

Supp. Compl. at 6-7; Second Supp. Compl. at 11-14.

See, e.g., AFP Resp. at 3-7; i360 Resp. at 12-24. At least three respondents note that their campaigns ended months prior to the August 2014 data exchange agreement between Data Trust and i360 that provides the foundation of the coordination allegations. See, e.g., Resp. of Elizabeth Cheney and Cheney for Wyoming at 1; Resp. of Karen Handel and Handel for Senate, Inc., at 2; Resp. of Matt Schultz and Schultz for Iowa at 3, 5.

⁵¹ Compl. at 2-3.

1 The Act prohibits corporations from making contributions, including in-kind contributions, in connection with a federal election. 52 Correspondingly, federal candidates, their 2 3 authorized committees, and political party committees may not knowingly accept a corporate contribution.⁵³ An expenditure made by any person "in cooperation, consultation, or concert, 4 with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, authorized political committee, or a national 5 or state party committee constitutes an in-kind contribution.⁵⁴ These are called "coordinated" 6 expenditures.⁵⁵ An expenditure for a communication is coordinated when the communication: 7 8 (1) is paid for, in whole or part, by a person other than the candidate, committee, or party; 9 (2) satisfies at least one of the content standards described in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); and (3) satisfies at least one of the conduct standards described in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d). 56 10 11 The Complaint generally alleges that the payment and content standards are satisfied by all of the independent expenditures made by the Crossroads Groups since 2011,57 the "millions 12 of dollars on 'independent expenditures'" spent by AFP since its agreement with i360,58 and all 13 14 of the disbursements made by Freedom Partners to i360 for independent expenditures. All such communications satisfy the payment standard because the independent expenditures referred to 15 16 by the Complaint were paid for by a person other than the candidates, committees, or parties with

⁵² U.S.C. § 30118(a).

⁵³ Id.

Id. § 30116(a)(7)(B)(i), (ii); see also 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.20, 109.21(b).

⁵⁵ 11 C.F.R. § 109.20.

⁵⁶ Id. § 109.21(a)(1)-(3).

Compl. at 12, Exs. D and E.

Id. at 12. The Commission's records reflect that AFP spent \$5,926,538 on independent expenditures between October 1, 2014, and December 31, 2014. See 2014 Year-End Report of Americans for Prosperity at 1.

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 18 of 24

- whom they allegedly coordinated.⁵⁹ Given that they were reported as independent expenditures,
- 2 such communications presumably also satisfy the content standard as public communications
- 3 that expressly advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate for federal office. 60
- The Complaint alleges that the conduct standard is satisfied because Data Trust and i360
- 5 served as a "common vendor" between the groups making the communications (AFP, Freedom
- 6 Partners, and the Crossroads Groups) and the RNC, the NRSC, State Party Committee
- 7 Respondents and Candidate and Authorized Committee Respondents. 61 The "common vendor"
- 8 standard is satisfied if all of the following are true: (i) the person paying for the communication
- 9 employs a commercial vendor⁶² to "create, produce, or distribute" the communication; (ii) the
- vendor has provided certain delineated services to the recipient of the contribution during the 120
- days preceding the communication; and (iii) the vendor conveys non-public information about
- the campaign's "plans, projects, activities, or needs," or services previously provided to the
- 13 campaign by the vendor, and that information is material to the creation, production, or
- 14 distribution of the communication.⁶³

In this case, the "common vendor" standard is not satisfied because it appears that Data

Trust and i360 sell access to their data libraries and analytical tools (and administrative services

17 relating to such access) and are not involved in creating, producing, or distributing

⁵⁹ 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a)(1).

⁶⁰ Id. § 109.21(c)(3).

⁶¹ Compl. at 11-13.

[&]quot;Commercial vendor" means any persons providing goods or services to a candidate or political committee whose usual and normal business involves the sale, rental, lease or provision of those goods or services. 11 C.F.R. § 116.1(c).

⁶³ Id. § 109.21(d)(4)(i)-(iii).

11

12

13

14

15

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 19 of 24

- communications.⁶⁴ Access to the data is evidently tailored according to parameters the client 1 2 selects, and the client may then use the pre-selected data set in a way it deems appropriate for 3 carrying out its own strategic aims. The available information does not indicate that Data Trust 4 and i360 are involved in helping their clients select particular data, nor do they appear to be 5 involved in any subsequent communications. Thus, Data Trust and i360 do not appear to be 6 commercial vendors that are being employed to "create, produce, or distribute" a communication for their clients under the first requirement of the "common vendor" standard. 65 Because all 7 8 three factors must be satisfied in order to meet the definition of a "common vendor," it is 9 unnecessary to analyze the second and third factors.
 - Because the conduct standard does not appear to be satisfied under these facts, there is no basis in the record to conclude that the independent expenditures made by AFP, Freedom Partners, American Crossroads, and Crossroads GPS and referred to by the Complaint were coordinated communications. Accordingly, we recommend that the Commission find no reason to believe that AFP, American Crossroads, Crossroads GPS, Freedom Partners, the RNC, the NRSC, the State Party Committee Respondents, and the Candidate and Authorized Committee

This analysis concerns the data services provided by Data Trust and i360. The media placement services provided by i360 to AFP and Freedom Partners as described above also do not appear to satisfy the "common vendor" standard. Even assuming the first two parts are met, the available information regarding a "firewall" between i360's media placement services and data services undercuts any factual basis for determining that the third requirement of the "common vendor" standard would be met.

¹¹ C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(4)(i); Coordinated and Independent Expenditures, 68 Fed. Reg. 421,436 (Jan. 3, 2003) ("Thus, this standard only applies to a vendor whose usual and normal business includes the creation, production, or distribution of communications, and does not apply to the activities of persons who do not create, produce, or distribute communications as a commercial venture:"); see MUR 6077 (Norm Coleman) (no coordination where vendor did not participate in creating, producing or distributing ads); MUR 6038 (Doug Lamborn, et al.) (allegations of coordination arising out of groups sharing voter lists through a vendor dismissed as a matter of prosecutorial discretion).

4

8

12

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 20 of 24

- Respondents violated 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116 or 30118 by making or receiving in-kind contributions
- 2 in the form of coordinated communications. 66
 - B. Data Trust and the RNC Did Not Make or Receive Prohibited Corporate Contributions

Under the Act, the term "contribution" includes "any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any

7 election for Federal office."67 The provision of any goods or services without charge or at a

charge that is less than the usual and normal charge for such goods or services is a contribution. 68

9 The Act prohibits corporations from making contributions to any political party or

organization.⁶⁹ Correspondingly, no person may knowingly accept a prohibited contribution.⁷⁰

11 According to Data Trust, the Data Exchange Agreement between the RNC and Data

Trust is an arm's-length, commercial arrangement with mechanisms in place to ensure that the

data exchanged by both parties is of equal value. The available information does not refute or

Although the Commission has stated that non-communication expenditures, when coordinated, are in-kind contributions to the candidate or party committee with whom they are coordinated, Coordinated and Independent Expenditures, 68 Fed. Reg. 421, 426 (Jan. 3, 2003), there does not appear to be such an expenditure in this case. There is no available information suggesting that the things of value traded among the respondents (money, products, and services) were not given in exchange for equal value as part of commercial transactions.

⁶⁷ 52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A)(i).

^{68 11} C.F.R. § 100.52(d)(1).

⁶⁹ 52 U.S.C. § 30118(a).

⁷⁰ *Id.*

See supra at 7-8; Data Trust Resp. at 2

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 21 of 24

- 1 otherwise provide any basis to discredit that assertion. Therefore, the Data Exchange
- 2 Agreement does not appear to have resulted in a contribution to the RNC from Data Trust.⁷³
- 3 The Complaint also alleges that Data Trust provided data management services to the
- 4 RNC that were worth more than a single alleged \$25,000 payment made by the RNC to Data
- 5 Trust. The Complaint appears to be incorrect in its assumption, however Data Trust and the
- 6 RNC each state in their responses that the RNC manages it own data, and further, that for all
- 7 services provided to the RNC, 74 Data Trust receives "monetary compensation at fair market
- 8 rates," including several payments totaling far more than the amount alleged in the Complaint. 75
- 9 The allegations in the Complaint do not appear to be substantiated, and thus there is no basis to
- 10 find that Data Trust made a contribution to the RNC. Accordingly, we recommend that the
- 11 Commission find no reason to believe that Data Trust and the RNC violated 52 U.S.C.
- 12 § 30118(a) by making or receiving a prohibited contribution.

C. The RNC and Data Trust Did Not Solicit, Receive, or Direct Soft Money

The Complaint alleges that the RNC "illegally established, financed, maintained, and/or

15 controlled" the Data Trust. 76 Under the Act, as amended by the Bipartisan Campaign Reform

See Statement of Reasons of Comm'rs, Mason, Sandstrom, Smith, and Thomas at 2, MUR 4960 (Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee, Inc.) ("[W]hile credibility will not be weighed in favor of the complainant or the respondent, a complaint may be dismissed if it consists of factual allegations that are refuted with sufficiently compelling evidence provided in the response to the complaint . . . ").

See Advisory Op. 2002-14 (Libertarian National Committee) at 5 ("When such exchanges of equal value occur, which are non-reportable events under the Act, no 'contribution, donation, or transfer of funds or any other thing of value' takes place"); Advisory Op. 1981-46 (Dellums) at 2; see also Advisory Op. 2014-06 (Ryan, et al.) at 8 (recounting Commission's longstanding position "that a political committee's mailing lists are assets that have value and that are frequently sold, rented, or exchanged in a market"); Advisory Op. 2014-09 (REED Marketing) at 4 n.6 (citing Advisory Op. 2014-06).

See supra at 10-11. Examples include technical support, the purchase and transition costs related to an unfinished computer program, and licenses for certain applications developed by Data Trust.

Data Trust Resp. at 9.

⁷⁶ Compl. at 17-18.

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 22 of 24

- Act of 2002 ("BCRA"), national political parties and entities directly or indirectly established,
- 2 financed, maintained or controlled by, or acting on behalf of, a national political party, may not
- 3 solicit, receive, or direct to another person a contribution, 77 donation, 78 or transfer of funds, or
- 4 any other thing of value, that is not subject to the prohibitions, limitations, and reporting
- 5 requirements of the Act. 79 The ten non-exclusive factors set out at 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(c)(2)
- 6 determine whether a person or entity ("sponsor") "directly or indirectly established, financed,
- 7 maintained or controlled" another person or entity under 52 U.S.C. § 30125. These factors must
- 8 be examined in the context of the overall relationship between the sponsor and the entity to
- 9 determine whether the presence of any factor or factors is evidence that the sponsor "directly or
- indirectly established, financed, maintained or controlled" the entity.⁸⁰

In this case there does not appear to be a violation of the Act. Even assuming that the

RNC established Data Trust, there is only a violation of section 30125 if the RNC or Data Trust

13 accepted contributions, donations, or transfers of funds, or any other thing of value that is not

subject to the Act's source and amount limitations. 81 The available information, however,

15 appears to show that Data Trust is operating a commercial enterprise, and that any funds (or

things of value, like data enhancements) it receives are given in exchange for the products and

[&]quot;Contribution" includes "any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office." 52 U.S.C. § 30101(8)(A)(i).

[&]quot;Donation" means "a payment, gift, subscription, loan, advance, deposit, or anything of value given to a person, but does not include contributions." 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(e).

See 52 U.S.C. § 30125; see 11 C.F.R. §§ 300.10(a)(1), (c)(2).

⁸⁰ 11 C.F.R. § 300.2(c)(2).

⁵² U.S.C. § 30125; see 11 C.F.R. § 300.10(a)(1).

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 23 of 24

- 1 services (or data enhancements) it provides to its clients or partners. 82 Accordingly, we
- 2 recommend that the Commission find no reason to believe that Data Trust and the RNC violated
- 3 52 U.S.C. § 30125 by soliciting, receiving, or directing contributions, donations, transfers of
- 4 funds, or any other thing of value, that is not subject to the prohibitions, limitations, and
- 5 reporting requirements of the Act.

See Advisory Op. 2002-14 (Libertarian National Committee) at 4-5 (list rental payments to a party committee were not a "contribution, donation, or transfer of any funds or any other thing of value . . . subject to the limitations [and] prohibitions . . . of [the] Act" when the list had an ascertainable market value, was leased at a usual and normal charge in a bona fide, arm's-length transaction, and was used in a commercially reasonable manner consistent with such an arm's-length agreement).

MUR 6888 (Republican National Committee, et al.) First General Counsel's Report Page 24 of 24

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

1	IV. RECU	DMMENDATIONS
2 3 4 5 6 7	1.	Find no reason to believe that AFP, American Crossroads, Crossroads GPS, Freedom Partners, the NRSC, the RNC, the State Party Committee Respondents, and the Candidate and Authorized Committee Respondents violated 52 U.S.C. §§ 30116 or 30118 by making or receiving prohibited or excessive in-kind contributions in the form of coordinated communications.
8 9 10 11	2.	Find no reason to believe Data Trust or the RNC violated 52 U.S.C. § 30118 by making or receiving prohibited in-kind contributions in the form of data management services
12 13 14 15	3	Find no reason to believe that Data Trust or the RNC violated 52 U.S.C. § 30125 by soliciting, receiving, or directing funds that were not subject to the prohibitions, limitations, and reporting requirements of the Act.
16 17	4.	Approve the attached Factual and Legal Analysis.
18	5.	Approve the appropriate letters.
19 20 21	6.	Close the file.
22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41	1.8.16 Date	Kathleen Guith Acting Associate General Counsel for Enforcement Stephen Gura Deputy Associate General Counsel for Enforcement Peter G. Blumberg Assistant General Counsel Peter Reynolds Attorney